15¢ JULY 11, 1949

New Republic

THE ECONOMIC EXPANSION BILL:

HOW TO KEEP PROSPERITY

By SEN. JAMES E. MURRAY

• PREFACE TO THE YOUNGER DRAMATISTS

By HAROLD CLURMAN

• BRITAIN'S BATTLE FOR COAL

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE SENATE will pass the Atlantic Pact overwhelmingly. There is really little more for Senators to say about it, and this of course will take a long time. The real issue is the amount of Marshall Plan foreign aid, and the Administration's urgent new drive to get the arms-export program through this session. Every top Administration figure involved whom we have talked to calls this a "must." Contrary to most writers, we now believe it has a chance of enactment before recess if the Administration retains its present militant attitude.

Truman has got his monumental housing bill through Congress—the biggest piece of social-welfare legislation since the early New Deal. Simultaneously, Congress rejected Taft-Hartley repeal, which the Democrats pledged in their platform. These two decisive actions were accompanied by heart-stopping excitement and hairline majorities that gave the press gallery a nice new set of stomach ulcers. And now—some eight months after the election—America is finally learning what last November meant.

Truman really heads a minority third party depending for its success in Congress on how many votes he can attract from his two rivals. There is no use longing for a "third party"—it's here. Visualize Congress as a football game played on a triangular field by three teams simultaneously; Truman captains one team, Taft another, Byrd a third. Players can louse things up independently by shifting allegiance on each new play. A nightmare? No more than the crazy reality of American politics! Truman last week attracted just enough votes to achieve housing; not quite enough for T-H repeal.

This 81st Congress isn't going to be as bad as the 80th. Steady pressure is having results. Truman's prestige is a little higher. Most important is the cumulative effect of deliberately invoked roll calls and the thought of the inevitable accounting in 1950.

We know this column is prejudiced, but honestly we can't see how the GOP is helping itself. On one issue after another it has been anti-public or has alienated major political groups: Republican Representatives venomously fought public housing (which they killed last year); Republican Senators preserved the restrictive labor law with slight modifications which Elmer Davis described as "Taft-Hartley with a shave and a haircut"; GOP spokesman Hugh Scott Jr. denounced the Brannan farm plan at the Young Republican convention, alienating millions of anxious farmers; earlier the same GOP gleefully joined Dixiecrats to retain Senate filibusters and kill civil-rights legislation. We may be goofy but we never saw a better set of election issues. The tragedy, of course, is that while Truman Democrats have gained slogans the nation has lost laws.

Notes. Signs of a trend: the Senate Labor Committee unanimously endorsed the bill raising the minimum-wage floor from 40 to 75 cents an hour; the House Ways and Means Committee approved the bill extending social-security benefits and coverage to 13 million. Neither of the foregoing actions is likely till next session.

Two years ago Truman courageously vetoed a GOP $4 billion tax cut, warning of fiscal dangers. Congress said "No." Today's deficit: $1.8 billion. . . . Three years ago Truman warned that killing the OPA would boost living costs. The NAM and Big Business said "No." Today's living cost is 25 percent higher. The richest nation on earth has ended 17 of the last 19 fiscal years in the red. . . . Congress denounces "executive usurpation" in

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good times and does its damnedest to promote it in bad times, as in the present unique Senate proposal to abdicate its pursestring power to Truman so as to force him to cut the budget from five to ten percent.

The Coplon guilty verdict and the Red spy trials generally revive the inevitable issue, "Shall the Communist Party be outlawed?"; both Truman and Dewey opposed outlawry in the last election, but if the 11 CP leaders are found guilty of criminal conspiracy in the current New York trial (however justified), it's hard to see how the party can stay above ground legally. The evidence indicates that Truman hasn't looked where he's going in this matter. . . . The outstanding figures at the Colorado Springs Governors' conference were Warren (Calif.) on the GOP side and Adlai Stevenson (Ill.) on the Democratic side; many wondered if they would be rival contenders in 1952.... Speculation on whether Truman will run again has started and will continue until he gives the answer. Truman will have served almost eight years by the end of this term; most observers think he will quit. . . . Talk of slashing ECA by Congress following the lead of the hostile Senate Appropriations Committee doesn't take one major factor into account; the nation's foreign-aid programs directly benefit big farm and business elements. Congress will find out all about this if and when it starts bigger cuts.

Maine's woman Senator, Margaret Smith, proved a short-lived liberal and voted for the strike injunction on the crucial T-H ballot. . . . James Byrnes and Bernard Baruch both come from Dixiecrat South Carolina. Both attacked the Administration recently. Byrnes will probably support Dixiecrat Governor Thurmond in the Senatorial race now developing. The Baruch-Truman break occurred in the last election when Baruch declined to aid Truman's "hopeless" fight despite benefits received. . . . An arms-export program, if enacted, will last four to five years; it will cost nearer $4 billion than the $1.4 billion now discussed.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Self-Segregation

SIR: In his generally fine article on Roosevelt College (the *NR*, June 6), Robert Lasch says that "the college does not claim to have eliminated prejudice," and goes on to state that—because of the atmosphere of prejudice in which most of these students grew up, and which they have not yet completely shed—one notices "in the cafeteria, in the elevators . . . an almost automatic self-segregation, which tends to separate the students into self-conscious racial groups."

Perhaps Mr. Lasch did see such polarization. But it is at least possible that, expecting to see it, he noticed only those groups which were racially homogeneous, and failed to perceive many heterogeneous gatherings.

I can only report what I saw in a recent month's stay in Chicago, during which I made Roosevelt my headquarters. In the cafeteria and elevators, as well as in the corridors, assembly rooms and classes, I saw constant *inter-individual*, rather than *inter-group*, dispersement.

Of course, the elimination of bigotry does not mean that hatred of one's own group must take its place, and that Negroes no longer will associate with Negroes, Jews with Jews, etc. Such gatherings, too, were frequent, and were, I suspect, what Mr. Lasch termed "self-conscious racial groups."

Although it is important to realize that insistence on democratic admissions does not automatically eliminate prejudice, it is well to remember the implied corollary—that such policies provide the environment in which prejudice may come to be completely eliminated—and recognize its success when it has succeeded.

New York City PAUL L. KLEIN

Job Hunting

SIR: I was interested in your article, "It's Not a Depression—Yet" (the *NR*, April 25). But I think that you minimized the extent of unemployment in the United States, at least as I have been able to see it from the experiences of a man (World War II vet) who has looked for work just about across the country.

Official figures notwithstanding, I think the extent of unemployment now is far greater than most people know, or most editors of publications are willing to admit. In the past year, I have looked for work, with a living wage or otherwise, in California, Illinois, Louisiana and New York. I have found some sort of work consistently, off and on, and have been fired for lack of unreasonable speed in production, been laid off either singly or with large groups of workers in the same plant, and have had to quit a few jobs because I simply could not make ends meet on my wages, and felt that I just had to look elsewhere for something better. . . . I am at present on relief in Chicago.

Since I have no specific training or trade, and am too young to have had extensive experience in any one thing (except carrying a rifle), I am viewing the situation from the position of an unskilled worker. But my two brothers, both with university degrees, are finding it almost as difficult in their fields to get something reliable or lasting. And most of the men I meet in the unemployment-compensation office are possessed of both skill and experience, but are *still* unemployed.

I feel, therefore, that if you look at the prosperity of the United States from the angle of the unemployment-compensation office, with its vast crowds of idle, restless men, or from the employment departments of places which advertise for two or ten men, and fifty or a hundred apply as early as two hours before the place opens, you cannot feel that there isn't a depression yet. As far as current prices are concerned, there isn't, of course, but the spectacle of increasing numbers of unemployed, coupled with comparatively stable high prices, is even less reassuring for the future.

Chicago, Ill. RONALD L. STEARNS

SIR: Though unemployment may not be serious from the point of view of the percentage out of work, it is always serious for those who are unemployed. Ronald Stearns's letter shows how important it is that the number of job opportunities should keep on growing, because the labor force is always expanding.

New York City GEORGE SOULE

A Correction

SIR: "Left of Center" in the *New Republic* of May 23, 1949, discussing silicosis legislation in Idaho recently vetoed by Governor C. A. Robins, refers to him as a lame-duck Governor.

Robins, a Republican, was elected Idaho's first four-year-term Governor in 1946, defeating Governor Williams, Democrat.

EDWARD H. JOHNSON

Coeur d'Alene, Ida.

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VOLUME 121, NUMBER 2, ISSUE 1806, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 11, 1949 **New Republic**

"A BOLD NEW PROGRAM . . ."

THE UNITED STATES is about to take the first step toward an internationalism more sweeping than anything Franklin Roosevelt ever proposed. President Truman has asked Congress for funds and authority to join in a coöperative program to raise the standard of living in the vast undeveloped areas of the world. With other members of the United Nations, we propose to aid the economic development of backward countries with our money and our technical experts. Because it is so clearly to our domestic economic interest to do so, even this Congress is believed likely to approve embarking on a project which is more idealistic than the Marshall Plan ever was.

"More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery," the President reminded the nation in first proposing "a bold new program" last January. He was understating the facts: 1.6 billion of the world's 2.3 billions live in "underdeveloped" areas. These people have $7 per capita of manufactured goods a year while those who inhabit the fortunate one-third of the world have about $102 worth per capita. Before the war, the unfortunate two-thirds had an average income of less than $100 per year. (Indonesia's 70 millions were surviving on an annual average of $22.) "About two-thirds of the world lives almost on the verge of starvation all the time."

The facts are not new. Missionary societies have used them as fund-raising arguments for years. President Truman has simply brought them forward again at a most opportune time. New trade supports for the Marshall Plan nations must be provided if ERP is to have much further success. Our own need for more trade outlets is no longer in the distant future. If the underprivileged two-thirds of the world in the underdeveloped areas could raise its level half as high as the present living standard of the fortunate one-third, imports into those areas "would increase sixteen times and the whole volume of world trade would double."

There can be no question of the need for a Point Four program or of the great amount of economic good it would do the US. In a world where economic well-being depends on ever expanding markets, such a program is long overdue. The two bills Truman has asked Congress to pass, enabling the government to send technical experts to any part of the world and authorizing the Export-Import Bank to guarantee private investments abroad against "risks peculiar to such investments," are necessary first steps. But for this program to live up to the high promise the President has rightly held out for it, it too must be ever expanding in aims and imagination.

The Administration has purposely chosen to make a slow start. The more conservative members of his cabinet, led by Treasury Secretary John Snyder, persuaded the President to hold his first request down to a minimum figure of $45 million for all technical assistance, both through the UN and our own government. Simple authorization for the Export-Import Bank to make loans in line with Point Four, with no additional capitalization, is all that is being asked.

The new legislation is deliberately vague on administration of Point Four. The State Department sought to make itself named chief high "coördinator" of the development program. The President deleted that provision from the draft bill. The State Department, far better at stopping than at starting things, is certainly not the incubator that the delicate, infant Point Four needs. The Department should play a prominent role in the development program, but, as Morris L. Cooke points out on page 18 of this issue, all the experience of government indicates the need for an independent agency responsible only to the White House (in line with the pattern established for ERP) to direct the new program.

It will take men of great energy and vision, unhampered by the preconceptions of the ordinary engineer or diplomat, to see to it that after the seed is planted the program has the proper climate and soil in which to grow. A "regular" approach through the regular channels will not result in development where and when it is needed. The tentative plan for allocating the initial funds for technical assistance, for instance, would not provide the right kind of experts. For lack of a strong, free hand to curb selfish impulses of the government bureaus, the "experts" to be available next year have been apportioned along straight pork

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barrel lines: only 11 experts in communications and 150 for transportation—fields basic to any extensive national development—but 1,000 public health experts, a type far more numerous in the government service. It is much easier to transplant the fruits of economic development (better nutrition, medical improvements, machinery for planning) than the seeds (modern technology, capital accumulation and better education). A major job of the Point Four administrator will be to guard against just such evasion of real long-range planning and organization.

Everyone is agreed that most of the developing must be done through private investment. The talk beyond that is all about guaranties and treaties of protection. Actually, the problem is how to advertise the opportunities for investment that exist now, to get industry interested in them. The answer is not more surveys. A conservative planner, long in government service, estimates that Washington files now contain 10,000 to 15,000 developmental projects, in line with Point Four aims, in blueprint stage, ready to go. The Point Four boss must discourage the tendency to survey, insist on an amalgamation of the workable plans that already exist, and see that the details of these investment possibilities are fully publicized in business circles.

Special inducements will be required to assure the success of the technical-assistance program that is contemplated. Ways must be found to pay triple the $20-$30-per-day consultant fees the government is now allowed as top pay for outside experts. Even at that rate, there will not be enough trained people to go around, and educators must start devising rapid training methods for technicians and for the vast quantity of skilled labor that is going to be needed.

To induce business to play its essential part, some kind of treaty agreements, guaranteeing protection against discriminatory taxation and confiscation and assuring convertibility of profits, will have to be negotiated with the governments which participate in Point Four. Much time and ground can be gained if the man who runs the development program can wring some announced rules from the Export-Import Bank on what it is willing to guarantee on the key question of convertibility, together with the assurance that the Export-Import Bank will go as far as necessary in insuring development loans.

Not all development is suitable for private financing. A sizable quantity of country-to-country loans for the basic development of power, water, transportation and other facilities are going to be necessary. International Bank and Export-Import Bank reserves will need to be substantially increased for this purpose, and constant education of Congress and the staffs of the banks themselves on the objectives of Point Four will have to be provided to keep the flow of investment heavy and steady. Government, here as at home, must be prepared to do what private industry will not do.

To realize the full potential of the "bold new propram" President Truman suggests that ways must be found to overcome the natural caution of the businessman and the timidity and inertia of the bureaucrats who will play the main parts in the program at the beginning; emphasis must be kept on human values rather than on the profits involved; development must be planned to conserve rather than waste resources. Under these conditions, Truman's program can mean a great advance for humanity. The greatest danger is that it may cease to be "bold" before it has well begun.

THE WEEK

A LIVE ISSUE FOR 1950

By June 30 the month of wrangling and debate over labor legislation in this Congress had boiled down to just one question: repeal or retain Taft-Hartley? The involved reasoning of Senator Taft, Senator Donnell and the Republicans and Dixiecrats who followed their lead could not change that.

The difference between the two parties was made very clear again in the final vote, which Taft won 51-42. Of the 42 Republicans in the Senate only seven broke from Taft to vote with 35 regular Democrats for repeal: Senators Ives (N. Y.), Morse (Ore.), Langer (N. D.), Tobey (N. H.), Aiken (Vt.), Lodge (Mass.) and Ecton (Mont.). Seventeen so-called Democrats, 14 of them Southerners, deserted their party platform and their President to join 35 Republicans for retaining Taft-Hartley. The three non-Southern deserters: O'Connor and Tydings (Md.) and Chapman (Ky.).

The 51-42 vote by which labor's enemies won on June 30, compared with the 68-25 vote by which the Taft-Hartley Act was passed over the President's veto just two years ago, represents a gain of 17 as a result of the 1948 election. It shows that labor and its friends are still at least five votes shy of the majority needed for a fair deal in the US Senate.

Taft and the regular Republicans have given the President a live issue for 1950: repeal a few Senators in order to repeal Taft-Hartley. The nine Republicans up for reëlection in 1950 who voted against labor are: Cape-

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hart (Ind.), Donnell (Mo.), Gurney (S. D.), Hickenlooper (Ia.), Millikin (Colo.), Reed (Kan.), Wiley (Wis.), Young (N. D.) and Taft himself.

Pick your own five for oblivion.

A HOUSING BILL AT LAST

The first of the Fair Deal domestic measures—a long-range housing bill—has got through Congress. Defeating virtually every crippling amendment sponsored by the Republicans, the House passed the Administration's bill, 228 to 185. The Senate had passed it April 21 by a 57-to-13 vote. The victory marks a final defeat of the multi-million-dollar real-estate lobby during the 81st Congress. And it assures voters some relief from the acute low-cost-housing shortage.

The high point in the battle which raged on the House floor for five days was the vote, on a motion proposed by Representative Edward Rees (R, Kansas), to strike out the title providing for construction of 810,000 public-housing units over the next six years. At first the House agreed by a teller vote, 168 to 165, to adopt Rees's proposal.

However, the Democratic leadership was able to muster its strength for the roll call and salvaged public housing by the narrow margin of five votes, 209 to 204. Favoring the Rees motion were 140 Republicans and 64 Democrats; opposed were 184 Democrats, 24 Republicans and one ALP. Representative Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.), who has long represented the housing lobby in the House, then attempted to send the bill back to committee, but the House refused, 241 to 170.

Amid Republican cries of "Socialism," Representative Brent Spence (D, Ky.), leading the fight for the bill, fired back: "Socialism is a fake issue here, and it has no merit. This bill is aggressive democracy." Representatives Mike Monroney (D, Okla.), Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.), Jacob Javits (R, N. Y.) and Chet Holifield (D, Calif.) deserve major credit for beating off the crippling amendments.

The bill contains a provision, sponsored by Representative Adam Powell (D, N.Y.), giving first priority for occupancy of publicly owned housing to persons removed from their homes by slum-clearance projects. This amendment was strongly supported by Negro leaders to prevent white people from taking over housing projects erected on the sites of slums which formerly housed Negroes.

A public-housing program supported by government funds up to $308 million a year for 40 years, a $1.5 billion slum-clearance program, and a $262.5 million farm-housing program are now ready to go into effect.

RAILROAD WAR PROFITS

The recent Supreme Court decision, which declared by a 6–3 vote the right of the federal government to appeal in federal court from Interstate Commerce Commission decisions, throws new light on more than a score of cases to recover several billion dollars in wartime overcharges by the railroads. So long as it was the tribunal of last resort, the ICC could simply wash out the claims of the Justice Department. Under the high-court decision, it must be prepared to account for itself in court if it refuses to order restitution.

The railroads are not making any serious effort to deny their guilt. Their lobbyists have been extremely busy, but the story they have been telling is simply that it will go hard on the nation's shippers if the rail carriers are forced to give back their wartime gravy. Dozens of Chambers of Commerce, trade associations and other groups have been induced to urge the ICC to throw the cases out because the railroads can't afford to pay. In startlingly similar language, they say that commercial shipping rates will have to go up if the carriers are forced to make good on their wartime profiteering.

The record shows that the War Department was denied commercial rates on transcontinental shipments because it would not label the precise destination of items of military traffic and because it would not ship to these unnamed Pacific islands via "approved" steamship lines. Several Japanese lines were approved, but not vessels of the United States Government, even after Pearl Harbor.

The railroads also consistently ignored the law in regard to land-grant deductions. The government was entitled to a reduction of one-half in the rate for all military shipments for those portions of hauls which traversed lands given by the federal government to the railroads when the great rail systems were being built nearly a century ago. On transcontinental hauls this should have meant about a 40-percent saving for the federal treasury.

Of course, the ICC should have seen to it that wartime freight rates were fair to begin with, but it closed its eyes to the continuous gouging of the public treasury. Until last month it might have been able to kill the cases; now it cannot wash them off the slate without having a federal judge go over the whole story.

THE PACE FARM BILL

A major part of the Brannan farm program is on its way through Congress. The House Agriculture Committee has acted with surprising speed in reporting out the Pace bill, essentially Secretary Brannan's plan.

The Administration measure, authored by Representative Stephen Pace (D, Ga.), provides for a generally higher level of federal price guaranties on farm commodities by discarding the present parity formula in favor of a new formula based on average farm income and costs over a recent 10-year period. It is a part of the Administration's answer to threatened depression. (Secretary Brannan argues that "depressions are farm-led and farm-fed.")

Under the Brannan-proposed plan such commodities as corn, wheat, rice and cotton would receive mandatory support at 100 percent of the new formula. It authorizes the Secretary to select three non-storable crops—probably hogs, potatoes and wool—for a "trial run" of his plan for letting retail prices seek their own level on perishable commodities. This "parity

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standard" could mean lower consumer prices since the government would pay the farmer the difference between the market and the support price. Actually, the Pace bill retains practically all of Secretary Brannan's plan except the unit-production limit on price supports for large farms and minimum soil-conservation practices required to get support.

The Agriculture Committee split strictly along party lines—17 to 9. GOP leaders have already indicated that they will attempt to substitute a one-year extension of present supports. But with Pace, a Southerner, leading the fight for the bill, there is a better than even chance that it will pass the House.

The Senate, however, is another matter. There is no strong backing by members of the Senate Agriculture Committee, headed by Senator Elmer Thomas (D, Okla.). Senator George Aiken (R, Vt.), ranking minority member of the committee, has his own bill, now scheduled to go into operation next January, which would attempt to control farm production by shifting the support price between 60 and 90 percent of parity. The Pace bill would repeal the Aiken measure. The Senate committee as of now is more inclined to extend the present law than approve the Pace bill, largely because Southerners, who would be most benefited by increased farm income (the average net income of farmers in the South last year was less than $900), have been only lukewarm in their support of the Brannan plan to date.

The Administration must persuade Senator Richard Russell (Ga.) or some other powerful Southerner to follow Representative Pace's example, if the plan is to go through the Senate this year.

POST-HALL SYNDICATE, INC.

"There's a few backward areas on the Hill, too!"

BRITISH LION IN A TRAP

Great Britain is in trouble. Her government bonds have sold off; her reserve of gold and dollars is now less than the $2 billion which her experts consider the minimum, and at the rate at which it is shrinking, would be entirely gone in about two years. The Finance Ministers of the Dominions have been called to London for an emergency conference. Sir Oliver Franks, British Ambassador to the US, has gone home and our Secretary of the Treasury, John Snyder, has also departed for London, for conversations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Yet the British economic record has many bright spots. Unemployment is only 1.5 percent. Industrial production is 7 percent higher than 1948 and 26 percent above prewar. Exports are 53 percent higher than 1938, the prewar year which is the British target base. The trouble, to put it bluntly, is a shortage of dollars which in turn is partly the result of a flight from the pound.

The chief factors are:

Rumors that the pound may be devalued are causing foreign buyers of British goods to postpone purchases. Devaluation talk has also caused hoarding of dollars and a rush from pounds into dollars, throughout the sterling area.

The deepening recession in the US has hurt the sales of British goods in this country. British production costs are in many cases pretty high; cutting prices in order to remain in a competitive position in US markets might mean serious losses.

Marshall Plan officials are pressing for the greatest possible removal of restrictions on international trade and finance throughout Europe. The British, endorsing this in principle, oppose it in practice at this moment for fear of a further drain on their gold and dollar reserves, which are the reserves of the entire sterling area. This movement, in the first quarter of this year, resulted in a net loss of $328 million, which was almost exactly covered by

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Marshall Plan aid. For the second quarter, however, the deficit has greatly increased.

The British say that they have to keep a minimum reserve of gold and dollars intact to carry on the daily trade and financial affairs of the sterling area. In 1948, sterling countries spent more than $2 billion in buying food, raw materials and other supplies from the United States. If Britain's dollar deficit continues, her purchases in this country will have to be severely reduced.

It is in the light of these facts that one must view the Anglo-Argentine trade agreement which made so many Americans angry. This bilateral agreement cut down substantially the Argentine market for US manufactured goods, gasoline and steel. It brought threats from Washington to curtail Marshall Plan aid to the British. London's answer was that in her predicament she is forced to rely upon temporary expedients which she would not wish to practise in the long run.

To some extent British foreign markets are being upset by changes which will be permanent. Since American automobiles became more plentiful, British sales in this country have dropped 90 percent. Our manufacture of synthetic rubber has hurt the plantations in Malaya.

Sir Stafford Cripps announces that the pound will not be devalued as long as he remains in office, and Washington repudiates the idea that it is exerting pressure in this direction. If the pound were devalued, it might help the sale of British goods in foreign markets. It would, however, increase the cost of imported British raw materials, which is reflected in the selling price of exports, and would make it harder than ever to import food.

The most regrettable aspect of the whole situation, from the American point of view, is the strained relations between the two leading democracies at the moment when they have so many interests running parallel throughout the world.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Trieste's fate has a special personal meaning for those Italians and men of Italian blood old enough to remember when the city belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Alcide de Gasperi is such an Italian. He was born in Trento as an Austrian subject. He began his political career as a member of the Imperial Austrian Parliament, serving in those years before World War I when the recovery of Trento and Trieste was one of the principal goals of the rising Italian nationalism.

Recently de Gasperi expressed his feelings about Trieste. It was on the eve of the elections last month in the Free Territory of Trieste. He spoke to a great mass meeting and said, "Trieste has been indelibly graven in my heart and mind just as my own city of Trento has been for all the years that it was not in Italy." His listeners cheered. He went on, "I solemnly declare that the Italian government asks for the restoration to Italy of the whole of their Free Territory of Trieste from Umago to Gorizia." His listeners screamed their approval. Then he went on to mention the conditions for such a restoration, especially the need to live in peace and economic coöperation with Italy's neighbors. "We want," he said, "a free democracy, free of nationalism, in solid fraternity with free peoples of the world and at peace with all peoples whatever regime they live under." This time the applause was weak. The Italian Premier insisted: "There is one condition of a happy solution to the Venezia Giulia question, and that is to come to an agreement with the Slavs." The whole crowd of listeners seethed with anger; there were boos, jeers, howls.

Nevertheless, despite the objections of the Trieste Italians, a Trieste deal is in the making. It is a sequel to the Austria deal made between the West and East during the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers; it does *not* involve the restoration to Italy of the whole of the Free Territory; it *does* involve large-scale economic arrangements in which Italy is acting as the instrument of the United States. Details remain to be worked out in secret negotiations between de Gasperi and Marshal Tito. The go-between is Camillo Castiglioni, an Italian American banker who was born in Trieste.

The timing too remains to be decided: there will probably be semi-official hints and official leaks before there is any official announcement. Nevertheless the main outlines of the arrangement are becoming clear—at least to persons with some access to the reasons for the recent comings and goings between Rome and Belgrade of the once Triestine, now American, Castiglioni. (His brother Arthur, formerly of the University of Padua, is now a professor of the history of medicine at an American university.)

When the deal is made Tito will no longer be the Janus-face of the Balkans: he will face one way—toward the West. The United States will have bought and paid for an ally whose devotion to the Four Freedoms and the democratic processes hasn't yet been noticeable. Marshal Stalin may complain loudly about betrayal in Belgrade, but he knows quite well what has been going on in the secret negotiations between Tito and the West: the Trieste deal is a small but not unimportant piece in the pattern of the Armistice of the Giants that is shaping up behind the scenes of the stage from which Truman and other American officials have been assuring Capitol Hill diehards that nothing really important happened in Paris and that the Cold War still goes on.

Obviously the Trieste deal involves political delicacies both abroad and at home, and its presentation to public opinion has to be handled carefully. After Truman and other officials have gone out of their way to assure Americans that no compromises with the

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high principles of democratic political morality were made at Paris, it would not do to admit that Tito has been cleansed of his Communist stigmata by the solvents of economic necessity and military expediency. Before the deal is announced, the White House advisers will want to be sure they can handle, indeed exploit, the probable psychological effects on public opinion—that is, use it for domestic political purposes. And the Pentagon will need to be confident that not only the present military aspects but also the future abreactions can be fitted into a pattern of security and advantage.

One of the last major hurdles in the path of the Trieste deal was cleared at the Paris conference, not in the discussions aired at the official briefings, or in the subsequent explanatory statements by high officials, but in the non-publicized aspects of the negotiations that took place at the Palace of Pink Marble and elsewhere in the city. An element in the Austria deal, for example, was American willingness to have ECA help for Austria channeled (without any bothersome publicity) to Czechoslovakia. This is to be balanced now in the Trieste deal by Soviet willingness to have ECA help for Italy channeled (also without publicity) to Yugoslavia. Another element in the Trieste arrangement is the transfer to Yugoslavia of parts of the Free Territory (outside the city of Trieste) which voted last month strongly pro-Cominform and anti-Tito. If the Westerners brush aside the democratic election returns on behalf of economic and military *Machtpolitik*, they won't have a good case in protesting in the future against similar Soviet methods in Germany and elsewhere.

Soviet protests against the upcoming Trieste deal will be largely for the galleries, quite insincere, because Stalin has not only been aware of but has countenanced for some time the secret talks between Rome and Belgrade, carried out with the blessings (and to some extent on the orders) of Washington and London. Stalin's order to Vishinsky in Paris to withdraw Soviet support from Yugoslav claims to Carinthia and to Austrian reparations seemed to the public to be a stab in Tito's back, an act of personal pique and vengeance. In reality, it was a carefully timed play in a complex game. Stalin recognizes facts as they are, when he has to, and this is such a case. He has known that Tito was moving toward the West, and his tactic has now become to push his personal enemy as quickly and as far as possible in that direction, while exploiting the situation by pretending reluctance and disapproval.

In main outlines the Trieste deal involves the following:

¶ Tito will get loans (largely for industrial equipment) of about $250 million from the World Bank (on Washington's say so) and from private American banks, notably the Bank of America and the Chase National Bank.

¶ Tito will get ECA help and a share in Atlantic Pact military help, both indirectly through Italy.

¶ The city of Trieste will revert eventually to Italy, after a period of Allied civilian-military administration. (British Major General Airey is leaving soon to take a high post in the War Office.)

¶ The hinterland of the Free Territory, which voted overwhelmingly anti-Tito, will nevertheless be incorporated in the Yugoslav nation.

¶ During (and after) the period of Allied control, the Americans, British and Yugoslavs will share military participation in the "protection" of the city—a device through which the Yugoslav military forces will "coöperate" in planning with those of the Atlantic Pact nations.

The hinting about the upcoming deal has already begun in Italy. Soon after the Trieste elections, the Italian Cabinet issued a communiqué saying that Count Sforza had instructed Italian diplomats in "friendly countries" to keep the governments in touch with Trieste developments. In particular they were told to stress "the validity of the assurances" given by de Gasperi "about the need to favor in every possible way, in Italian Trieste, the economic needs of neighboring peoples, especially those of Yugoslavia, in the common interests of the two nations."

The fact that there will be a Trieste deal does not, however, mean that there will be a dependable and lasting settlement. Trieste's fate has been involved in one way or another in a long series of wars, from the Crimea more than a century ago to Israel this year. With Salonika, the city at the head of the Adriatic shares the rank of major port on the southern seas, giving access to the Mediterranean of the commerce of Central and Eastern Europe. Trieste's destiny was one of the causes of World War I; it was part of the clash between Czarist Russia's desire to get warm-water ports and Junker Germany's *Drang nach Osten*. Hitler's Balkan and Middle Eastern ambitions took Trieste's role into account, and only a few years ago Trieste's future played a part in provoking the Cold War between the two inheritors of all these old imperial quarrels.

It would be anti-historical to assume that the Soviets have renounced more than temporarily their interest in a city so intimately connected both politically and economically with the Balkans and Eastern Europe. The major explanation of the present Soviet attitude is that it is part of the general (temporary) retreat from the West toward the Asiatic East. Whatever long-range purposes Stalin may be serving will emerge in Asia in the coming months and years. The spotlight is shifting from such places as Istria and the Dalmatia coast to the Yang-tze and the China coast. And while Yugoslavia remains in the dark, perhaps Stalin hopes that after it is built up economically through Western help it may be returned by internal revolution to its proper place in the Soviet Balkans. The fact is that in an area where Tito's strongest propaganda efforts were at play, the Slavs voted not for him but for the other, the real Slavic marshal. PERCY WINNER

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encomia can have significance only as publicity designed to stimulate the box office.

Most playwrights recognize this motive, and frequently accept hasty praise with half-defensive, half-gratified depreciation, apologizing to their intimates: "Well, it's good for business anyway." But they do not understand that they are imperceptibly being seduced into a state of being that makes their growth increasingly difficult. The process implies a challenge to the playwright to become "better and better," which makes him demand of himself constant "improvement." But this "improvement" means only growth in relation to the routine salutes that greeted him in the first place—not growth in relation to his needs as a developing artist.

Very few artists in the world have proceeded from masterpiece to masterpiece. The young American playwright is not an artist in an abstract "world"; he is a citizen working in a particular milieu, namely the New York theatre. This milieu sets up standards unlike those obtaining for similar craftsmen in painting, music, poetry or even the novel. The New York theatre obliges the writer to think of maintaining a level of accomplishment not measured by his problem as a creative personality but by the mechanics of a production apparatus which cannot function unless the plays he writes can gross upwards of $15,000 a week. His problem then becomes, far more than is healthy, one of adaptation to a market, an orientation away from his own essence or center. Writing plays becomes a maneuver rather than an expression. We should never forget that Chekhov became a popular playwright in Russia only because the repertory system built up his audience. His plays were not immediate box-office successes even in the Moscow Art Theatre.

After the playwright, who may once have been content as a teacher, a journalist, a small businessman, has tasted success, he is tempted to quit the theatre altogether if his third or fourth play does not live up to the "promise" of his first two or three. (The "promise," I repeat, is almost inevitably interpreted in commercial terms, as is the "fulfillment.") He turns to Hollywood, which is more popular, more commercial, more in line with the kind of demands that seem to be made on him. Or he will pick up cash by writing for the radio or television, and, if he has the capacity, he may attempt a novel. The young playwright is overcome by a sense of fear, frequently followed by a sense of futility. He sometimes accommodates himself to the position of honored hack—he becomes a Successful Playwright—or he succumbs to some other form of depletion. I have always retained the utmost respect for O'Neill, despite disappointment over particular plays, because we can perceive in all his work the determination to say exactly what he has in mind and heart. But O'Neill, apart from his personal qualities, belongs to a generation which had more reason to believe in the theatre than does the present one.

In order to develop as serious craftsmen, Odets, Hellman, Williams, Miller—the outstanding figures of a later epoch—must employ their advantages to dig themselves in against the fierce pressure of the Broadway machine and its poisonous atmosphere. To be blunt about it, I believe it essential that writers of this kind remember they are artists; that they adopt a mode of living—economically as well as spiritually—befitting that humble station in our society. If the huge sums they are capable of earning bemuse them into a belief that they belong to the class of business people who regularly earn more than $25,000 a year, they will find themselves within a few years not only forced to abandon the theatre (which they may not necessarily consider a calamity) but to give up hope of ever achieving full maturity as artists in any field of writing. It is supposed to be not at all nice and shamefully old-fashioned to say, but there is a terribly upsetting wind that blows around the peaks of those higher brackets. To counter with historical examples of contrary evidence from Shakespeare to Bernard Shaw is hypocritical irrelevance. We are talking of our corner of the world in the fifth decade of the twentieth century. A decent poverty, permitting the playwright freedom not to be at all times the "greatest," is indispensable for artistic progress.

The artist—as contrasted to a Broadway genius—does not everlastingly climb upward. His eyes must remain fixed on the real world outside—away from his specialized artistic or theatrical horizon, and his thought must constantly return to what is equally real within him. The artist often needs time to remain silent, time to falter while foraging in the underbrush of strange territories, an opportunity also to be "misunderstood."

A special need of the playwright as artist is to be faced with criticism that does not begin or end with the aim of proving or disproving his eminence. We do not love works of art because they are "great," but because we find them relevant and enriching to us. It would be a real service to younger playwrights if the critic spent more time trying to understand the motive, meaning, source and direction of their talents and less time measuring their achievement.

Perhaps we should remind ourselves that the best of our younger playwrights—Odets as much as Miller,

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Hellman as well as Williams—are all *beginners* (Ibsen wrote "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," "Hedda Gabler," "The Wild Duck," "The Master Builder" after he was fifty). For our beginners to contribute what, let us say, a Dreiser or even an O'Neill has, they have still much work to do. They should be encouraged toward that work, but to pronounce them consummate, as if, let us say, the winning of a prize were an ultimate, is to doom them at their first step.

None of these playwrights is "through" when he writes a bad play. A bad play may even be as significant and, in a sense, as interesting as a good one. An artist, unlike a chain, is to be judged by his strongest link. . . .

These writers have much in common, but they are not alike. Comparisons may be helpful for purposes of definition, but they are truly odious when one writer is used to bludgeon another. The fault of one—a certain impatient rhetoric in Odets, let us say—may be closely bound up with a virtue and cannot be overcome by recommending the logical leanness of another—Miller, for example. Williams, in my view, is as much a "social" writer as Hellman, and the recent tendency to treat him as merely an effective painter of feminine and Southern frustration is only a facile dodge by which superficial judgment seeks to dispose of a talent that does not conveniently fit into a category conforming to the rationalism of certain "progressives." On the other hand, some critics with a disposition to be patronizing toward the rawness of American effort blind themselves to the fact that almost all these playwrights are fundamentally more gifted as dramatists than, for example, the presumably secure Jean-Paul Sartre.

I hope to return in later articles to a consideration of what each of the younger American dramatists represents in his own right, what his present artistic scope appears to be.

BRITAIN'S BATTLE FOR COAL

by Michael Straight

LONDON

COAL is still the heart of British industry. The coal miners are still the hard core of British labor. The nationalization of coal, the only remedy for the exhaustion of both mines and miners, is still the central test for British socialism.

Since the first bloom of public ownership in 1947, when wages and production rose together, progress in the coal industry has been a backbreaking task. All the Polish refugees, all the new trainees, all the restrictions binding the miners to the pits, have failed to maintain a shrinking and aging labor force. The price of coal is away up and wages are away up. But productivity remains low, and production is well below the targets set by the National Coal Board.

The embattled coal industry is smarting under criticism. Union leaders place the blame for inadequate output on the hostility of the colliery managers; the production chiefs of the National Coal Board blame the "scientific absenteeism" practised by the miners. Either way, with exports threatened and dollars rapidly disappearing, the pressure is heavy on every man and pit.

Barrow pit, in Yorkshire's West Riding, like most of the British mines, has "had it." Its blackened brick buildings bear the inscription "1870." Its mountainous "muck drop" contains the slag remainder of the best of the Barnsley seam. The seam itself, like most in Britain, is only two feet thick, following a deep vein in steep gradients and sudden bends.

Yet Barrow flies the National Coal Board's flag for having fulfilled its target. In what the miners call "the bad old days," it yielded 70,000 tons of coal in each six-day week. Now, with the same labor force working a five-day week, it is producing more than 80,000 tons.

One reason for the increase in production is modernization. Fourteen years ago I crept through five-foot tunnels at Barrow, dodging coal wagons and gasping for air. This year we walked down roadways, 12 feet by 18, beside conveyor belts that moved the coal, and against strong winds that gave good ventilation. Mechanization at Barrow has raised output per man-shift from one-third to one-half of American productivity. But further mechanization is limited by the prohibitive costs of hauling coal around the winding tunnels cut in pursuit of the seam. The desire for quick profits in peace, and quick results in wartime, led to a system of short-term exploitation of each seam that ruined the proper development of the British mines.

The National Coal Board is faced with two often conflicting tasks. It must reorganize the entire layouts of the mines at the same time as it produces more coal. And it must maintain continuity of management for the sake of continuous production, at the same time as it turns, for increased production, to greater individual effort from each miner.

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Continuity of management is a lot to ask both of the miners and of the managers. "There are only two rotten things in the world," the miners used to say in the bad old days, "and both of them's deputy managers!" The need for strict discipline in the mines, and the rigidity of class division, combined to make the managers hated and feared. In turn, the managers were trained to apply a class-ridden system of production. Most of them opposed nationalization. Yet the need for continuity has led the Coal Board to continue 90 percent of the colliery managers in their jobs.

Now, with the future of nationalization in their hands, the managers are largely on their own, steering a delicate course between workers' control and managerial responsibility, between the expectations of the miners and the necessity for lower costs of production. Some of the managers, by habit or conviction, resist the proper demands of the unions. Others, indifferent to the success or failure of government operation, give too much to the unions in order to gain local popularity. Often the managers who believe most ardently in nationalization are compelled to be the most unyielding, while the cynical give in, and make deals for the sake of temporary peace.

John Longden, the area manager at Barrow, is a humorous, hard-driving man. Like most, he began as a miner and ran the pit for a company. Now he runs 12 pits for the government, thoroughly enjoying his manager's task of coaxing to new production records thousands of miners who favored nationalization principally as a means of doing away with all managers. "It's been a very interesting and most amusing time," he says. "I've never laughed so much in all my life!" He adds:

"When I came to Barrow in 1939, I used to say 'good morning' to the miners around the shaft. Not a man would speak to me, but after I'd passed I'd hear a low groan come out of them, like the cry of an animal.

"The miners talk to me now. Sometimes one will say, 'This industry is going to fail until we put our class where you are!' I laugh and I say: 'What do you mean, your class? I'll wager my union card is older than yours!'

"As for my bosses," Longden says, "in the old days, when the manager went down the pit, he was like the stag in the painting: the monarch of all he surveyed. But up in the owner's offices there were rooms that were closed to him and stairs he wasn't allowed to climb. It was His Holiness there: *'I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt have no other gods before me.'*

"I've never seen my new bosses in the National Coal Board and they've never seen me. I've not the slightest interest in them and no aspiration whatever to get where they are. When a matter goes upstairs to them it ascends to heaven: it's the most difficult thing in the world to get at. But every issue that can be settled in this area we settle at once, and with no trouble at all. We keep all that we can within the area, and not a lot goes out. I know what I can spend. I have an absolutely free hand in spending it. For the first time I can run the pits in the way I've always believed right."

When the government took over the industry, Longden went through his pits and talked to each man. "I told them that I had no enemies, that we'd start over with a clean slate, and live together in a kind and friendly way." Production was the main concern. But safety and welfare provisions were greatly expanded. The old fees that were charged for pithead baths and lamp oil were abolished. Joint consultation was established in canteen committees, bath committees, safety committees, production committees. As in every nationalized mine, a Central Consultative Committee was created and required to hear any grievance within four days. Every major decision—to open a new seam, to install a new system of strata control, to introduce a new type of pit prop—is worked out in committee now, and explained to every man. For the first time the miners know what is going on in the pits.

Longden's insistence that the central problem is "management and man" has helped to give his pits about the best record in the industry. ("I don't talk much about that," he says, "but I smile!") And yet bitter prejudice, nurtured through generations, dies hard.

"Back in the first war," Longden explains, "the government took over the mines. But it threw them back to the owners like a dirty dishcloth when peace came. The owners let them decay, and the Poles dumped coal all over Europe at 18 shillings below our price. Then the miners, who had been crawling around down in the earth in a hell of a sweat, were brought up and cast on the scrap heap. They stood in the cold on the street corners until the iron entered their souls.

"The only thing that could save them was nationalization: no experimental, piecemeal stuff, but immediate, over-all reorganization and planning on a national scale. But even then, the job of revival takes years and includes many setbacks and disappointments.

"The unions always rejected the idea of complete workers' control. But at heart, that's what the men thought nationalization meant. And then all of us, as miners, were brought up to believe that the reason we were poor and had to work hard was because down in London there were capitalists, sitting in deep chairs in clubs, with fat cigars and whisky bottles, living off an

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inexhaustible treasury of money the workers had produced. We didn't know exactly where the treasury was, but we knew that when we laid hands on it we'd all have wealth galore.

"In those days the miners used to think that if a man made a thousand pounds a year he could live in a castle and spend all day fishing. When their own member of Parliament had to tell them he'd voted himself a salary of a thousand pounds a year they were aghast.

"Now they are finding out that there is no treasury, that old Britain has only her lands and her mines and her men. A few of them have overcome all their fears: they make close to a thousand pounds a year at the coal face. But miners are a very clannish lot. They move together and it's no use to push them. I can't ask them directly to produce more coal. All I can do is to make it possible for them, and wait for them to respond."

One-sixth of the men are still absent, on the average, each working day. The miners get a bonus of a day's pay if they work a full five days a week. But the older men, who were accustomed to decades of three or four days' work a week at best, can no longer keep up, while the younger ones see no use in earning money which is taken in income tax. There is no destitution in the mining areas any more, and little talk of strikes. But the flow of young men into the pits is drying up.

"The older men," Longden says, "have a secret pride in the mines, and a great fear of leaving them. They daren't move, even from one pit to another. If we try to close up a pit, they are badly frightened. The women, of course, would close every pit in Yorkshire, but one of the reasons the men are attached to the pits is that when they descend the shaft they leave their quarrels with their women up above. They even leave God up on top, thinking He can't see through the rock. They have a kind of freedom down in the earth. They look on the pit as the lesser of two evils. But no man ever really wanted to work in a pit. They went because they had to; and they don't have to any more."

We spoke to many miners, fishing shoulder to shoulder on Whitsunday in the reservoirs, strolling through woods bright with rhododendron, marching off to the pubs while their wives put the children to bed. We got responses from a few. They talked of the numbers of cars owned by the managers, the remoteness of the National Coal Board, the preoccupation of the managers with production. When I finally suggested to one that perhaps nationalization was not the answer, he answered angrily, "Man, it's the salvation of the miner!" I protested, "But you said . . ." and he cut me short: "It's a Yorkshireman's privilege to grumble!

"My father was a miner, like his father," he said. "If he met a woman on his way to work he turned back for fear of bad luck. He wouldn't let my mother wash his back because he said it would weaken him. Now things are changed. My father swore that I'd never go down a pit. I went, though. I swore my son would never go down. I sacrificed a lot to give him mechanical training. And at the end of it all he came to me and said: 'Dad, I'm going into the pit.'

"I was staggered. I protested. But: 'It's not like your day,' he said. 'I can be a manager in ten years in the mines, and in private industry it'd take me thirty.'

"His mother would choke me if she knew this," he said in a low voice. "I told him, go to it! With lads like him in the mines we'll beat such as Poland yet!"

DOWN TO EARTH WITH POINT FOUR

by Morris Llewellyn Cooke

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S SUGGESTION for a "bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial programs available for the improvement and growth of undeveloped areas" without regard to their location has once again put "the old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit" very much on the defensive. For such imperialism we may now substitute the most positive and effective answer ever given to the age-long question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" To point out that poverty, wherever it exists, is the common cause of all mankind, and to make constructive suggestions as to its amelioration mark a distinct and epochal step forward in world thinking.

Two types of reactions have greeted the President's suggestion. One is fault-finding, which is always on tap without much regard to the merits of any given proposal. Cynics and dinner-table philosophers said, with shallow wisdom, "Nothing new—we have always done it," "full of difficulties," "may take a lot of money," "pity no detailed plan was made prior to the announcement," and so on and on. Even the London *Economist* dolefully asked, "Will it last?" Businessmen and bankers, for whom, in the long run, the development of backward areas will yield the most direct returns, ques-

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tioned the security for the suggested investments and the extent of government guarantees.

On the other hand, the voice of the American people by and large has given an enthusiastic endorsement of the idea, hardly to be expected for an idealistic scheme that points the way, at least, toward elaborate expenditures for which the *quid pro quo* is not to be "cash on the barrel head." Coming after the Truman and Marshall Plans, and the proposed expenditures for arming Europe, Point Four might well have seemed like piling Ossa on Pelion.

Without inside information, one may be sure that intense interdepartmental and interbureau battles have been waged as to where, in the executive departments, Point Four activities are to be located and who will be in over-all charge. Willard Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State, has been trying to coördinate departmental and bureau thinking through almost daily meetings of the representatives of a score and more agencies which hope to be included in the plan.

Experts in public administration act logically when they deprecate setting up an entirely new and independent agency—one not under an existing unit—to handle any new functional activity. Otherwise the new director—in this case the President himself—would be swamped with detail. But no rule is so sacred that it cannot be set aside now and then, at least temporarily.

Take, for instance, a matter as relatively simple as rural electrification. I am convinced that the legislative purpose would have been defeated if in 1935 the Rural Electrification Administration had at once been set up under the Department of Agriculture, where, after three or four years of a somewhat exotic development, it was—more or less logically—installed. In the early stages, especially, of an enterprise of scope, there are considerations that require an unusual degree of freedom of administrative action. The necessary *élan* will just not bloom under the rules and regulations which, probably with justification, have been developed through the years in agencies of long standing. Administrative machinery, admittedly necessary at later stages, may easily crush a tender young idea, and especially one embodying, as Point Four does, so much of promise to the peoples of the world.

From the beginning, therefore, all activities to be initiated or amplified under "the bold new program" should be headed up in an entirely new federal agency giving unity to the specialized activities of the several bureaus and departments. In the beginning, this agency, which might be named perhaps something like the "Administration for International Technical Coöperation," should report directly to the President. The leader in any such enterprise will have to be an unusual public servant—generous enough to assume that whatever he does is intended to implement the President's vision, hard-headed enough to hold his planning within boundaries set by our national competence and resources, and sufficiently conversant and sympathetic with other cultures than our own to know that aspirations and techniques appropriate for the US might be quite out of place in Timbuktu. Such personalities as the two great leaders of the Friends (Quaker) Service Committee—the late Rufus Jones and the present incumbent, Clarence Pickett—inevitably come to mind. The appointment of an administrator of this type will preclude undertakings designed primarily to give us special advantages, whether diplomatic, military or business. Such special advantages were excluded from the President's inaugural address, in which Point Four was launched.

It will probably be harder for the typical American than for citizens of some other countries to adopt the only technique that can possibly succeed in carrying out the President's high purpose, *i.e.*, lend a hand, so far as possible, to projects which a given native population thinks it wants, as opposed to projects which we think would be good for them—and perhaps, incidentally, good for us. This brings up a difficulty for which we Americans are only indirectly responsible.

Nearly all countries are backward, from the American standard of mass-production enterprises. They want a maximum of national self-sufficiency, both for military and for other reasons. They want to be "like the USA," not realizing that our mass-production industries, located in a huge country with vast resources, politically unified and with a mass market, began in a modest way and only reached the mass-production stage after a long period of standardization both of equipment and products.

This widespread desire of "backward countries" for mass production necessarily brings up the question of large plants versus small. While of course there are situations, even today, in the less developed areas where a large plant may be justified, the place of the small-sized plant must be recognized. Otherwise we may overlook our best bet—the wide distribution of small plants, and even pilot operations. Small plants

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can be built and put in production in the shortest possible time. They can help many areas to become more productive by attaining a more integrated union among local raw materials, power and labor—production factors which often cannot be fully employed without small plants. They can alleviate local shortages of critical products with their quick production and their direct distribution to local consumers, involving little warehousing and transportation. (This last is normally a costly, if not prohibitive, factor in backward areas.) Such plants can serve large-scale operations by producing minor items which are in short supply. They operate with small power equipment, now readily obtainable. They can be more simply financed, and can be allocated to established communities.

Current investment-banking methods discourage small plants. Other things being equal, the larger the plant the more attractive the flotation of bonds. Given a $10 or $20 million expenditure, the banker prefers a single enterprise requiring the whole amount.

Our experience to date with large-sized plants in backward areas suggests that the local community gains little from them. Take, for example, Shanghai, a notable Chinese industrial center. In Shanghai, the capital invested comes from the outside; the profits leave the country, and so do the products. A few employees benefit, but the gain for the people is almost nil.

Local capital in backward areas, especially through the contribution of services, is much more apt to be attracted by small plants than by larger ones. Investment bankers have found by experience that securities based on plants in the local community are easier to sell than those based on a plant at a distance. The fact that interest on investments in some faraway land is apt to be low suggests that some dependable interbank or international agency might be set up to render opinions when a given project under Point Four is initiated and to keep investors currently informed as to progress made. Even some form of intercompany "insurance" is not out of the question. The banking fraternity has many opportunities for rendering aid of an unusual character to private investment, if its interest can be aroused. Many important kinds of work to be carried on under Point Four will apparently have no connection with business activities, as that word is generally understood. For instance, student and teacher exchanges, as now carried on under numerous and various public and private auspices, can be greatly expanded. One American export-import operator advocates setting up internationally recognized standards for agricultural products that are grown in backward countries, to facilitate their exchange in world markets.

To raise the standard of living, the exchange of ideas is sometimes far more effective than sending machinery and equipment. The export of American "know-how" in regard to the employer-employee relationship, as is now being done so effectively by ERP labor advisers to Western European countries, would cost relatively little and might immeasurably advance the world's productivity.

Perhaps one of the most effective ways of arriving at a workable plan is to send a well-balanced special commission to the region under study. Having observed quite a few such missions in action in foreign parts, it would seem to me the part of wisdom to have any such group begin its work in this country by making, perhaps a month or two before its departure, a dummy or pilot report, based on such information about the country to be visited as is readily available. In this way, the general character, at least, of the desired report can be plotted out and approved in advance. The members of the mission will thus start their work possessing a good deal of useful information, much of it not available in the country to be visited. It might easily be that some of the mission members would be shown, by this process, to have been unwise selections.

If disillusioning disappointments at home and abroad are to be avoided, we must attempt to realize the scope of the task to which we are addressing ourselves. Even the expenditure of $100 million of public funds means only five cents per person for the world's population. To be most effective, whatever is done should be on the basis of long-term planning—20 years, as urged for Latin America at the last CIO convention, or in some instances a 50-year program for areas where the situation is so grave that little can be done in a hurry.

In some parts of South and East Africa, the cost of providing adequate measures for conservation of soil and water is already so great that government cannot cope with it, and performs only token activities. During one recent rainstorm in South Africa, soil erosion pushed the shoreline three miles out to sea!

In the long run, and judged by dollar value, construction work of many kinds will constitute the great bulk of what is needed to get backward areas marching forward. We need full speed ahead if we are not to accept the defeatist attitude of the neo-Malthusians. In construction work the engineer is the key man; and this forces us to face the fact that, competent as he may be on design and in building structures, the average American engineer has not been trained to be socially minded. He is as ignorant of international affairs as he usually is of domestic politics.

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For the most part, the engineers and applied scientists who are at the controls today were educated at a time when the social sciences, including economics, were all but excluded from technical courses. Only one or two engineers in a hundred interpret American "know-how" as anything more than the techniques by which structures are built in double-quick time and operated at minimum dollar cost in order to make the most money for somebody.

We engineers seem to be improving in our social outlook; but we are not conditioned yet for an aggressive frontal attack on the world's poverty and low standards of living. Engineers often call those who give thought to these matters "dreamy-eyed."

To date, most American capital has been interested not so much in the development of the country itself as in exports and imports. It has often been demonstrated that pumping dollars into a country for this purpose does not necessarily result in beneficial development. The salmon industry in Alaska has done very little to contribute to the over-all development of the territory. Agriculture, industry and population are still badly needed.

Standard Oil went into Venezuela around 1920. Twenty-nine years of large-scale oil exploitation, involving the export of millions of barrels of oil, have merely served to take the Venezuelans out of one form of production and put them into another. The tendency has been to break down, rather than to develop, the economy of the country.

Silver and tin mining in Bolivia is perhaps even more to the point. Years ago, mule trains shuttled between the lowland farm areas and the cities. Now the cities buy their sugar and other agricultural products from outside the country, using for this the dollars received for mineral exports.

The same story is true of coffee and bananas in Guatemala; meat in Argentina; copper and nitrates in Chile. These countries have become one or two-crop countries, and when a war or a depression affects the markets for these, the whole economy is disrupted. In El Salvador, coffee constitutes 90 percent of all the exports; in Venezuela, oil is 89 percent; in Honduras, bananas, 82 percent; in Guatemala, coffee and bananas together, 95 percent; in Bolivia, tin and silver, 85 percent.

The TVA represents the general area of American "know-how" most available for export, judged by the reactions to it in foreign countries. Definite steps have already been taken toward adopting this over-all type of watershed development in Brazil, India, Mexico and Palestine. Partly because David Lilienthal's *Democracy on the March* has been translated into about 20 languages, the TVA has become our best-known, most highly appreciated institution. The TVA is almost custom-made for Point Four use, because its techniques can be employed on streams of varying size, because it affords the electric power needed to infiltrate agriculture with industry, and because the development provides an adequate foundation on which to base all phases of an enriched and growing economy. This culture, now developing in the valley of the Tennessee, if adequately safeguarded may easily result in such an unfolding of human progress as to compare with other historic river-valley civilizations; with the Tiber, Mother of Rome; with the Nile, monumental and deeply religious; with the Yangtze, cradle of the oldest surviving civilization; and with the Tigris-Euphrates, commercial, essentially practical, the birthplace of law. We have already done much to encourage TVA development in foreign parts. We must do more.

As we see it now, the Middle East, Latin America, and possibly India, afford the most promising areas in which to extend Point Four operations. The political situation in China at the moment permits only token activity. Unless and until native effort has given a more promising turn to the soil situation, Africa is not a promising field, although American businessmen are being told that fortunes can be made there. As to India, internal governmental complexities seem to rule out that area temporarily except for coöperation with the Damodar Valley Authority, which is proceeding at a good pace with the enthusiastic support of Pandit Nehru.

In weighing the advantages and disadvantages affecting American participation in this worldwide altruistic program, one cannot be sure that an "A" rating for every recipient nation is warranted, especially during the early years of operations. Even so, we might wisely expend many millions in these enterprises without having much to show for our money and effort if thereby we gained useful insights into our own national deficiencies—technical, ethical and spiritual—in pursuing these lofty adventures in internationalism. Let us do our part and hope for successful participation, even though we are less certain of the immediate outcome than we would be were this a military crusade—in which we have had so many illuminating experiences. We shall gladly do our share, because of a deep conviction that only through making the standard of living in the uttermost parts of the earth a common concern of all peoples can peace be preserved and the safety and dignity of the individual be advanced—causes to which we are dedicated above all others.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: Hats Off to Harvard!

IN THE DARK AGES, the beacon of learning and civilization that had been lighted during the glorious earlier period of the intellectual ascendancy of Greece and that continued to diffuse its light until the Roman Empire was overthrown by the barbarians from the north, had become all but extinguished. Fortunately, learned monks in the Christian monasteries of Europe preserved the tomes of wisdom that had been handed down to them, and jealously guarded them. Thus they succeeded in preserving knowledge until the Renaissance in Europe lifted the shackles of superstition and fear from the souls of men. And thus were saved the seeds out of which has grown the widely diffused enlightenment of the spirit of the present.

Although we have emerged from one dark age, can we be certain today that intellectually we are not in danger of slipping back into another era of superstition and fear which could be all the more catastrophic because our fall would have been in greater numbers from a greater height? The hysteria of the present, about which President Truman sounded a warning recently, may develop into a rigid catalepsy of the spirit from which it would be difficult to emerge. Craven fear, lashed into a frenzy by public officials who heed not what they do, is again laying siege to the holy of holies in which dwells the spirit of civilization. As the priestly scholars once preserved the learning that had come down to them, so now are the scholars in our colleges being called upon to defend with all of their might the learning of which they have become the inheritors and trustees.

The degree of the peril threatening the intellectual life of America today can be no more vividly stated than by citing the fact that recently the Sons of the American Revolution called upon the legislative branch of the government to censor, in effect, the books of college libraries. If this organization, of which I am a member, has any reason at all for existing, it is to help preserve the heritage of liberty that has come down to it from ancestors who were not afraid to think, to investigate and to arrive at a conclusion that left them no alternative except rebellion—under the leadership of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and the Adamses—against a mother country that insisted upon denying those liberties which frenzied witch-hunters would again withhold from us.

That some Americans are unable to appreciate the liberty that has been won for them by the sacrifices of their ancestors is demonstrated by a revealing exchange of letters among Frank B. Ober of Baltimore, a product of the Harvard Law School; James B. Conant, president of Harvard University; and Grenville Clark, a distinguished fellow and alumnus of that institution. Ober is the author of the notorious Ober bill, a local version of Mundt-Nixon, that passed the Maryland legislature at the last session and was hastily foisted upon the people as an emergency measure by Governor Lane. Apparently in the crude belief that "money talks," Ober wrote a letter to President Conant under date of April 26, announcing that he had decided not to subscribe to the Harvard Law School fund.

The reason assigned by him was that Professor Ciardi of Harvard had made a speech opposing his bill, at a Progressive rally in Maryland. Ober wrote, "I do not know what he [Professor Ciardi] said, nor do I know whether he is a Communist." However, he clearly resented honest opposition to a measure that reflects no credit upon him. A further reason for his petulance was that Professor Harlow Shapley, the great astronomer of Harvard, had presided at the "New York Peace Meeting" which was a legally held meeting, open to the public, and at which speakers were allowed to exercise their constitutional right of free speech to the great distaste of Ober, who seeks to do in Maryland what Attorney General Clark has done in the United States at large—discover two or three "subversive" citizens where none had been before.

Naturally, President Conant appropriately replied, "The attitude of Harvard toward the extra-curricular activities of its professors is a policy of long standing." It is a policy that refuses to ask a professor to account for anything that he may say or do as a citizen, within the constitutional rights of any free-born American.

But it remained for Grenville Clark, in his letter of May 27 to Ober, really to skin the hide off the Maryland witch-hunter and nail it resolutely to the barn door where all might see and savor the odor of it. In impeccable parliamentary language, Clark made out an unanswerable case for his great alma mater on its record of academic freedom. In effect, he told the gentleman from Baltimore that academic freedom and the right of a citizen who happens to be a Harvard professor to exercise his constitutional rights are not something that Harvard puts on the bargain counter to be sold for a handful of silver.

Hats off to Harvard! HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE FRONTIER THEORY OF HISTORY

by Lloyd Morris

DURING THE PAST half-century, two theories of American history have enjoyed great prestige: the "frontier hypothesis" of Frederick Jackson Turner and the "economic interpretation" of Charles A. Beard. According to Turner, American civilization owed its unique character to three factors. The existence of an area of free land beyond the frontier, the continuous recession of that area and the westward advance of settlement brought about a repeated rebirth of society on the edge of the wilderness. This process, he asserted, accounted for the nature of American development.

WESTWARD EXPANSION: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, by Ray Allen Billington, with the collaboration of James Blaine Hedges (Macmillan; $8.50).

Turner advanced his thesis in the 1890's, after the frontier had been closed, and for two decades it deeply influenced professional historians. Then a new generation came on the stage, and Beard became its spokesman. His theory of the rise of American civilization was simple, skeptical and a trifle sad. The process that had shaped our history, Beard declared, was the incessant struggle for power of hostile economic classes. For more than twenty-five years, following his lead, most American historians have undertaken to show that the structure of our society has always been determined by the existing forms and distribution of wealth.

The theses of Turner and Beard were not mutually exclusive. Both held social evolution to be the result, mainly, of environmental forces, physiographic or economic. Both depreciated the role played in social change by psychological factors. Both, in effect, implied that progress is an automatic, impersonal process in which men are involved rather as hapless social products than as conscious social agents. It was perhaps inevitable that some historian should attempt to reconcile these deterministic theories and review the American past under their united light.

Though he does not profess it as his intention, this task has actually been performed by Professor Ray Allen Billington of Northwestern University, in a massive history of the American frontier from the days of the first Spanish and French outposts to the end of the nineteenth century. Westward migration went on for three hundred years, at a varying rate of advance, before settlement of the continent was completed. Billington contends that, soon after it began, a "standardized zonal pattern" emerged which, although modified by time and place, was consistently repeated by every sectional conquest. Fur-traders preceded all others, and were followed by cattlemen and miners before pioneer farmers arrived. The pioneer farmers were transients, and were displaced by "equipped farmers" who became permanent settlers. When settlement reached this stage, the first urban pioneers—merchants, processors and sellers of services—came to the frontier, drawn by the lure of probable quick wealth.

The pattern was invariable in every section, but the geographic conditions of each section were unique. Economic specialization therefore resulted, giving rise to sectional antagonisms and the development of political pressure-groups each striving to shape national legislation to serve purely regional needs. It is in these terms that Billington tells the story of advancing civilization, with greater comprehensiveness than any previous modern historian. The major merit of his book is that it records the story for the entire continent, synthesizing the factual detail set forth in earlier regional studies.

This story is the American national epic, and therefore a superlatively great subject. Our contemporary academic historians, however, cultivate their province not as a department of literature but as a field of research. They have renounced art, perhaps under the illusion that it is incompatible with scholarship, and since they write for students rather than for readers, they have even repudiated the obligation to write well. Professor Billington's book does not violate this deplorable convention. Its material is magnificent, but its treatment is pedestrian; it manages to invest an epic with the dullness of a textbook. Even so, *Westward Expansion* deserves to be read by a wider public than the college students for whom it was probably intended and should prove rewarding to anyone whose curiosity about American social evolution exceeds his knowledge of it. One episode in that evolution—the disposal of the public domain under the Homestead Act after the Civil War—is powerfully reported. The account of how half a billion acres of land were surrendered to monopolists by the federal government, though intended for the nation's poverty-stricken masses, has implications for the present.

As a picture of the evolving American social order, *Westward Expansion* is limited by its deterministic premises; it fails to give adequate significance to the strong current of democratic aspiration and equalitarian theory which, independently of physiographic and economic influences, made the rise of American civilization resemble a protracted conflict between social conscience and private cupidity. The most surprising conclusion put forward by Professor Billington is that "the West had, throughout its history,

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been a stronghold of political conservatism, despite outraged cries of easterners against western 'radicalism'." To the contrary, the West was the cradle of political progressivism; the incubator of advanced social legislation; the birthplace of such radical movements as the IWW and the Farmer-Labor Party, and the source of the drift toward the "welfare state." There is no excuse for ignorance of American cultural tradition on the part of any historian, however committed to economic interpretation.

INSIDE THE SATELLITES

BEHIND THE CURTAIN, by John Gunther (Harper; $3).

DID YOU KNOW that Italian Premier de Gasperi's daughter is married to a Milanese butcher? That there are sun lamps in the composing room of a Trieste Communist newspaper? That Bevin is "lost in a labyrinth," that the "Huey Long" of the German Social Democrats is Franz Neumann, or that leading Communists in Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia are Jews? In his first postwar political Baedeker of Europe, John Gunther reports these items and thousands more, some fascinatingly unimportant and others just plain important.

Before you can say "Mikolajczyk," Gunther wheels through Italy, Trieste, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Germany, Paris and London, with a chapter on unvisited Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania for good measure. As do all the "Inside" books, this one bulges with personalities as well as facts. They are culled and collected on a tight schedule, written for newspaper syndication, brushed up for magazines, refurbished with footnotes and updatings and poured into a book mold.

It is easy to be cynical about Gunther's work. But when a reviewer has indulged himself to the extent of a wisecrack or two, it must be admitted that Gunther is an impressive performer and that *Behind the Curtain* is a tremendously impressive performance in many respects. True, the book is compiled rather than written—but so is a dictionary. The very juxtaposition of something old, new, or borrowed gives it importance. In the excellent chapter on Italy, for example, the statistics that help give solidity to Gunther's impressions and generalizations are credited to Barrett McGurn of the New York *Herald Tribune*. But few would have a note on file that McGurn on such and such a date cabled that one percent of Italy's population owns 50 percent of the arable land, that seven percent owns 69 percent and that there are five million landless peasants. When Gunther gets hold of these facts they become underpinnings for a vigorous restatement of Italy's perpetual problem: overpopulation and poverty.

He is, of course, an indefatigable reporter and he has not brought together a bookful of facts without mulling them over and adding his own often valuable judgments. One of his telling arguments: the Vatican is defeating itself by sustaining an Italian educational apparatus which keeps the peasants so ignorant that they become an easy prey for totalitarian agitators.

Gunther attempts to be balanced in his opinions; so much so that the *Daily Worker* could label him reactionary and *Time* call him "left-of-center." While damning the type of Soviet control he saw in Eastern Europe, he makes it clear that Greece (a "client" state rather than a "satellite") and Turkey are dependent on the US. He has sharp criticisms, from the American viewpoint, of political conditions behind the curtain, but remembers that only Czechoslovakia has much previous experience with democracy.

The author is quick to point out that "the only times when we thought that war was imminent anywhere in Europe was when we traveled in American domains."

The faults in *Behind the Curtain* derive from its rapid pace and wide scope. Gunther gives one the uneasy feeling that if he had had time, say in Vienna, for two more people with different viewpoints, his chapter on Austria might have read differently. Similarly, he seems most convincing when writing about the areas of which you know least. His chapter on Hungary, a country inadequately covered by the daily press, is rewarding. The one on Yugoslavia, about which we have read more, suffers from superficiality.

To this reviewer the pluses in *Curtain* more than cancel the minuses. The reader is forewarned by Gunther himself that everything is not as black and white as it appears, that "almost every sentence needs qualification." His book does qualify many current fictions; it dispels the easy misconception that Eastern Europe is all the same shade, politically, socially and economically. For those of us who have to gather our foreign news between breakfast and the office, *Behind the Curtain* serves to etch in the varying shades of opinion that exist behind the monolithic black headlines.

RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH

APPRECIATION OF KEYNES

THE ECONOMICS OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, by Dudley Dillard (Prentice-Hall; regular edition, $5; textbook, $3.75).

ECONOMISTS are a class of scholars who have to be hit on the head by a fact, not once, but repeatedly over a period of, say, a hundred years, before they will recognize it and modify their theories accordingly. Not until the 1930's, for example, with the work of Chamberlain and Robinson, was price theory presented as a unified whole, covering the complete range of variation from pure monopoly to pure competition. Previously, the conventional discussions of the factors governing prices had assumed that our economy was characterized by practically unrestricted competition. Despite the prevalence of limitations on competition which had been apparent for decades (the first Anti-Trust Act was passed in 1890), they were treated as exceptional, and the analysis of monopoly prices was put into a separate compartment.

Classical and neo-classical economics also assumed (often implicitly) that full employment was the normal state of affairs. This position

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was stiffly maintained in the face of the panics, crises and depressions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There were, to be sure, a whole congeries of business-cycle theories, which, like the theory of monopoly prices, were regarded as being outside the major body of analysis, applying only to aberrant, special situations. This was well illustrated by the usual economics textbook where, of thirty or more chapters, one, ordinarily placed inconspicuously toward the end, would be devoted to the ups-and-downs of economic activity. The other twenty-nine, dealing with prices, international trade, wages and what not, were all based on the assumption of full employment.

Keynes's greatest book, the *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money,* is a landmark in the history of economic thought largely because it explained why a high degree of unemployment can persist for a long time, and why, therefore, the neo-classical assumption that the economy automatically tends to maintain full employment is invalid. In fact, the more mature the economy, the more notable is the tendency for unemployment to persist. As Keynes's latest expositor, Dudley Dillard remarks, "Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that inflation and full employment are the normal conditions of a wartime economy and that deflation and unemployment are the normal conditions of a peacetime economy in the present stage of capitalist development."

Dillard's effective summary of Keynes's ideas about the vulnerability of mature economies is a sample of what his book offers, which is a clear, detailed presentation of Keynes's theory of the cause and cure of unemployment. This centers upon the dependence of national income (and therefore employment) on the level of consumption and investment. Investment plays the key role in the equation because it is highly variable and each additional dollar invested leads to a manifold increase in income (the multiplier effect). The tendency of savings to increase in terms of percentage as income increases (diminishing propensity to consume) requires a high-income society also to be a high-investment society so that the large volume of savings can be fully offset.

Particularly good is Dillard's exposition of the fundamental difference between Keynes and the neo-classical tradition in which he was educated but from which he broke away. Whereas traditional theory assumed that the rate of interest would always fall low enough to bring about the investment of all savings and thus maintain full employment, Keynes argued that because of the desire and the need to hold some money in liquid form, interest rates will not fall below certain limits, say two percent.

When the marginal efficiency of capital—in plain language, prospective profits—falls below the minimum interest rate, investment likewise falls below the levels necessary to maintain full employment, and remains there. Useful, too, is his emphasis on the distinction between the appropriate policy for small units like a family and a large, self-contained economy, such as that of a great nation; how savings which may be advisable from the point of view of the former, will, if not matched by investment, bring about a depression for the latter.

Dillard also points to the practical consequences of Keynes's analysis, the chief of which is that, to maintain employment in default of private investment, the government, through public works and appropriate financial policy, is obliged either to make investments itself or encourage others to make them.

The Economics of John Maynard Keynes will be valuable to students. Whether it will appeal to a wider audience is questionable because its tone is academic and the presentation is in somewhat too great detail for general consumption. From the point of view of the student, if not from that of the general reader, Dillard's book would have been improved if he had taken note of the more important criticisms of Keynes, even if only to refute them. Keynes's system, after all, was not quite perfect.

Whether his theory was perfect or not, Keynes, the author of *Essays in Persuasion,* was sufficiently persuasive to bring about a near-revolution in the outlook and thinking of his fellow economists: the remark, "We are all Keynesians now," has become a commonplace. The Keynesian revolution has gone so far that today, thirteen years after the publication of his *General Theory,* even textbooks have begun to succumb to its influence. Some of the best-received recent texts devote themselves principally to the analysis of income and employment, and relegate the old stand-bys—price and distribution theory—to the background.

It appears, however, that he has not been equally persuasive with administrators and even less so with legislators. If he had, would the Administration, now that we are threatened by mass unemployment, resort, as a countermeasure, to timid requests for coöperation from industry, labor and agriculture, or to statistical presentations which, in the crudest possible way, are intended to divert public attention from the growing numbers out of work? If he were a confirmed Keynesian the President would say, "It is true that unemployment is increasing, but there is no reason for alarm. We know how to put people back to work. If the number out of work continues to grow we are going to ask the Congress for authority to embark immediately on expanded public-works and social-security programs, large enough to eliminate unemployment." A Congress composed of equally confirmed Keynesians would pass the requested legislation.

This would not be as fantastic as it may sound. We know how to prevent depressions, and it is very largely to Keynes that we are indebted for this knowledge. But, even more than for his instruction, we are indebted to him for his demonstration that we need not be passive spectators of the operations of the "unseen hand"; we

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can, if we will, be the masters of our economic fate.

Dillard has performed a useful service in making Keynes's teaching more readily accessible. It is the more unfortunate then that the publishers have seen fit to put a good book between cheap covers and to print it unattractively. THEODORE NORMAN

Theodore Norman was an economist in the Department of Agriculture, staff member of the Brookings Institution, and is at present Deputy Director of the Institute on Overseas Studies. He is the author of Economics with Application to Agriculture.

FICTION PARADE

A TALE OF POOR LOVERS, by Vasco Pratolini (Viking; $3.50).

THE TRAGIC INNOCENTS, by Rene Barjavel (Rinehart; $3.50).

JOURNEY INTO SPRING, by Winston Clewes (Knopf; $3).

EACH OF THESE novels is published in America after a large sale and enthusiastic acclaim in its own country. They are best-sellers abroad in Italy, France and England, but they read as if they had been written for export—almost, indeed, as if they had been written through foreign eyes, presenting (even emphasizing) their "foreignness," their national characteristics, in recognizable, conventional terms. They may be read as parodies.

A Tale of Poor Lovers is really a tale of the Via del Corno, a short street in a poor section of Florence. It is "teeming" or "literally swarming" with characters impossible to keep straight, even with the help of the list that precedes the text. Their fortunes are difficult to distinguish, but that matters little because the narrative is secondary to a panoramic impression of "hearts and brains sick with obsessions, lusts, greed, good resolutions, fear of God, or just love." The basic elements of red wine, macaroni and sex are celebrated in a spirit of simple wonder: "The world is a marvelous place in its variety. Things are always happening."

The "innocents" of the French title are a pair of young lovers whose adventures run a predictable course of rural passion, separation, misunderstanding and fatal accident. The emphasis is about evenly divided between the two components of the title. Innocence is a compound of ignorance and extreme youth. The author has a great respect for his young pair and treats them on a lyrical note; their rendezvous take place along these lines: "She had come running, and she ran as she left him. She was afraid and she was happy. But she did not know who he was. He was beautiful. She did not know what she had done or why. But he was beautiful, he was radiant, warm. She did not know him. Jean. She was running, and suddenly stopped, shut her eyes and saw him etched in her mind's eye. He smiled and his eyes were golden."

Compared to this, the other characters (and the reader as well, no doubt) are a pretty soiled lot. The milieu, after all, is the tired old world, so that the sentimental romance is balanced by a prevailing cynical lechery. Tragedy is assumed inevitable to innocence; a train is derailed, a letter is delayed, a girl trips on the stairs because "the enthusiasm and the dynamic impulse of love and life . . . were as unlikely and as much exposed to danger as a flowering tree in the midst of a battlefield."

The hero of *Journey into Spring* returns from the war on the verge of nervous collapse and retires to a dilapidated estate he has unexpectedly inherited, along with a title. The only continuity in this book is that of his repeated rudenesses and immediate apologies to his new neighbors in the village and countryside. For the rest, the novel is a bundle of familiar ingredients, casually related: the ancient manor and the aristocratic tradition, but adjusted to democratic prejudices (the hero resents being called Sir Godfrey); the village rector with his competent, slangy, sensible daughter; the silly and affected local gentry; the crotchety farmer; pastoral romance, and the usual rustic paraphernalia of incest and village idiots.

All these particles are suspended in a solution of prose given to sage generalities, precipitating into garbled imagery. The following is both an example and a description: "Humanity and freedom are incompatible, but kindness fires a train, sows a seed, sets off a cycle of events which once in motion cannot be stopped." JOHN FARRELLY

MOVIES: Clear and Present Nonsense

REPUBLIC PICTURES' salute to Old Glory, "The Red Menace," has shown to a thin and apathetic audience in New York and is moving out of its first-run Broadway house after a short and unprofitable visit. This indicates, perhaps, that the degenerate metropolitan citizenry is ripe for regimentation, or perhaps only that New Yorkers can spot a dull tract from a safe distance.

If "The Red Menace" is an accurate portrayal of American Communism, the comrades are an even sillier and more feckless group than any of us had suspected. The party leaders are seen as cold-hearted baby eaters who laugh immoderately whenever the words freedom and decency are mentioned in their presence, but who are as incapable of maintaining discipline as a substitute teacher in a reform school. The members are a conglomerate group of malcontents, idealists and neurotics whose sole preoccupation is to escape the grasp of the octopus. These latter profess to live in mortal terror of party discipline and lecture one another incessantly on the impossibility of quitting the bloody brotherhood. Actually, it is absurdly simple: you merely report yourself to the nearest Catholic Church or Texas sheriff's office. Society's eagerness to forgive and forget will possibly surprise some ex-comrades and reformed fellow travelers.

The representative dupes of "The Red Menace," all of whom, in a

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heartening mass exodus, turn in their party cards during the brief interval covered by the picture, are a disgruntled former GI, a Jewish intellectual, a Negro idealist, a renegade Catholic girl (she dispenses proletarian free love to prospective candidates) and a sad-eyed Middle European Joan of Arc. None of the performers have "names" and there seems no reason for identifying them with this embarrassing episode in their lives. If the movie had been made on the other side of the curtain, I would immediately charge that the entire cast had been drugged.

The latest screen biography of one of Broadway's stars of the past is "Look for the Silver Lining," a tinsel history of the fairy princess, Marilyn Miller. These Technicolor musical "lives" have become a good entertainment formula: they evoke sweet nostalgia, they take advantage of backstage glamor, they tell a fabulous success story, they rejuvenate fine old songs and, if they are decently cast, offer an excuse for some colorful production "numbers." In this case, June Haver plays Marilyn Miller and Ray Bolger plays Jack Donahue. Bolger's dancing is marvelous, the sentiment is properly wistful and once again it is established that there's no business like show business. I was only surprised and disappointed that Marilyn Miller did not even once appear on a white horse.

There is little to be said of the British "Against the Wind," but that isn't necessarily a criticism. Like "Look for the Silver Lining," it is a routine but sound example of a thoroughly proved formula: the romanticized exploits of British agents operating with the French underground in the last war. It contains the usual cat-and-mouse suspense, the split-hair maneuvers, the sudden flare up of love in the hour of mortal peril, parachutes against a night sky and the tramp of SS boots.

In this instance, the action goes in heavily for ingenious booby traps, products of the British national talent for practical jokes, and the plot contains an extra spy-within-a-spy twist. The principals are Robert Beatty, Simone Signoret, Jack Warner and Gordon Jackson.

It seems that "Devil in the Flesh" was not Claude Autant-Lara's first picture on the theme of ill-starred adolescent love. He had previously made "Douce," now released in America as "Love Story," and it was brought over here hard on the success of the later picture.

"Love Story" may be all right for an idle evening, but it is a weak thing compared to "Devil in the Flesh." It concerns a girl of good family who conceives a naïve nineteenth-century passion for her father's farm steward, a handsome no-good who is himself the lover of the girl's governess. The father of the family wants to marry the governess, the steward wants to abscond to Canada with the farm's revenues, Douce, the heroine, wants to become a woman in the next twenty minutes and Madame la Comtesse, her regal grandmother, insists that everyone remember his station in life. It is all very confusing and exhausting, like a Russian novel recalled in a nightmare, but Douce comes through it fresh as a daisy and, as far as you can tell from what is probably a censored print, quite intact.

The level of acting in "Love Story" is above the level of the idea, and Odette Joyeux and Roger Pigaut get through the erotic flimflam with straight faces. The picture recreates what purports to be the first *ascenseur* ever installed in a Parisian private house. It rises and descends slowly and tremulously, in time with the action.

ROBERT HATCH

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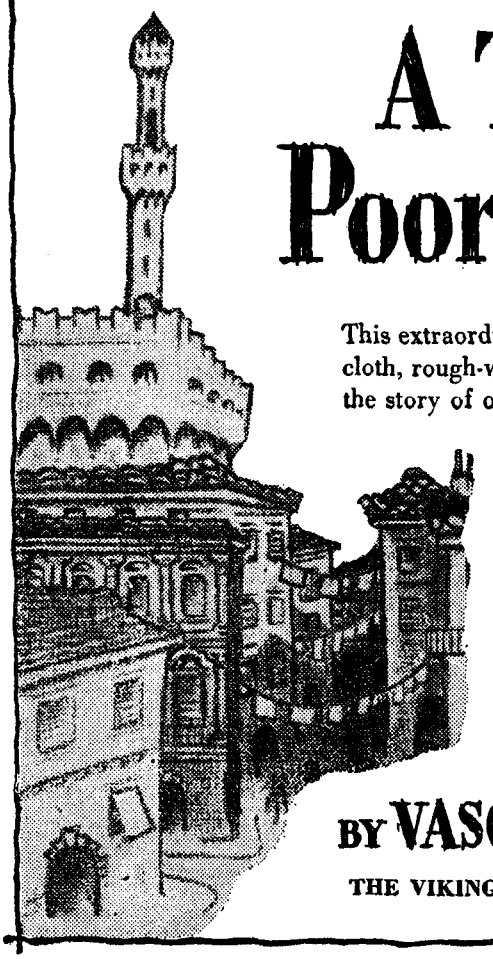

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BY VASCO PRATOLINI

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ON THE AIR: Network for Peace

LAKE SUCCESS

RADIO'S "vanishing writer," whose absence from the commercial air this department deplored in the past, has not sunk without trace. On a sustaining, but nevertheless satisfactory basis, he is working at United Nations headquarters here. The networks broadcast his programs and many local stations carry them. But though I had heard many of these programs, I had my suspicions. Somewhere in this UN radio setup, it seemed prudent to think, there must be a catch. I came out here to find the hidden gimmick, and I'm happy to say I failed.

The directive which provides the impetus for the UN's radio activity is clear. It was established by the General Assembly back in February, 1946, as the basic principle behind all of the UN's public-information operations. The General Assembly declared:

> The UN cannot achieve the purposes for which it has been created unless the peoples of the world are fully informed of its aims and activities.

From a casual reading of America's newspapers, you'd hardly guess that such lofty ideas motivated anybody at the UN, including those sections of the Secretariat devoted to public information. But commercial radio is different, though it has needed a few years to catch on. Broadcasting in the United States has now discovered that excellent air material is obtainable from the UN.

Programs are made by people. Setting the tone for the UN's radio operations is the chief of the division concerned with the airwaves. He is a confident, quiet Canadian, Peter Aylen, once in charge of all international services for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. An energetic, red-headed young American, Gerald Kean, trained in the OWI's "peoples-speaking-to-peoples" radio format during the war days, is in charge of the English-language section which feeds UN ideas in increasingly larger doses to American listeners. But once programs are created, writers engaged and producers assigned, the 2,700-odd American radio stations must be lined up. For that job—of US station relations—the UN a year ago hired Dorothy Lewis. Mrs. Lewis worked nine years as a liaison officer of the National Association of Broadcasters and knows almost every broadcaster in the country, from the network board chairmen to the operator of a 250-watt station in Thief River Falls, Minnesota. Under this trio, the air has begun to crackle on behalf of One World.

One hundred and seventy stations, in 34 states, have been carrying a Monday-through-Friday program of 15-minute reportage, called "United Nations Today." This transcription sums up, each night, the day's principal occurrences, from meetings of the Security Council and General Assembly, to sessions of various commissions, committees and other UN units. Voices of delegates are recorded and official translations are provided. Special recordings bring in reports from UN bodies in session away from Lake Success: one day when I was here for this research, short-wave radio "feeds" were received from a Lebanese delegate working for the World Health Organization that day in Rome, and from Geneva, Paris and Lausanne. Statements by delegates expressing opposing viewpoints are judiciously edited to obtain accurate balance. The result is a clear, apolitical report of the highlights in a UN day.

Recently (May 2, 1949) I mentioned here the amazing "UN Jingles" which adapted the commercial technique of the one-minute "spot" song to purposes of global peace. These jingles were played on 1,000 stations (in this instance, station WNEW, New York, carried the main burden). Other occasional UN programs and some series have gone out on networks, or on from 20 to 300 local stations. But the two major productions this last season were "Memo from Lake Success" on CBS and "Two Billion Strong" over the ABC chain. ("Memo" is off the air until fall; the ABC program has a new time, Saturdays at 8:30 p.m.)

Both programs are excellent, ranking in quality (though not in Hooperatings) among the best of this season's radio. "Memo" is a 15-minute topical show, pegged to the major news developments of the past week—the triumphal return of Dr. Ralph Bunche and the lifting of the Berlin blockade as a result of conferences begun at Lake Success were recently celebrated by "Memo." The ABC program deals chiefly with the work of various specialized agencies—the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Narcotics Commission, etc.

Though both "Memo" and "Two Billion" use the drama-documentary

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technique, the latter, a half-hour show, is often the more brilliant. There are two reasons for this: "Memo" must stick to the news, which is likely to be more humdrum than the feature and human-interest material picked for the other show; "Memo" has less time to indulge in fancy trimmings like special songs and ballads and emotional trappings.

In the two dozen assorted programs I listened to for this report, I watched carefully for "the US State Department line" about which volunteer advisers had warned me. I read scripts and examined production logs. I picked "sensitive" subjects. There was a program which, in passing, touched upon the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty. Our Benjamin Cohen (the UN Secretariat has its own official of that name) insisted that the UN do something about the case. After a recording had brought Cohen's Washington views, the answer was given by Poland's Drohojowski, who objected to Americans who talk of "exporting democracy," contending that they "haven't got enough for home consumption." The Mindszenty argument took place on "Two Billion Strong."

"Memo" was on top of the news the week the "Lucky Lady" demonstrated the feasibility of flying an American bomber non-stop around the world. But the emphasis was not on the aircraft as a potential carrier of atomic weapons. Instead, the pilot was interviewed about how much help fliers get from the International Civil Aviation Organization. These two examples show how the programs try to combine timeliness with a sensible approach to the UN's principal goal.

Next week, this column will discuss the work done in languages other than English, go into some details about the identity of the writers, and other talent, employed in Kean's operations, and describe plans for enriching our American radio with special UN programs next fall and winter. This week, I wanted to make one point: With 59 critical and zealous bosses constantly breathing down the necks of the UN radio people, it is a wonder that anything at all is accomplished; a greater miracle that what is done is done so well.

SAUL CARSON

MUSIC: Lemonade Opera

AT THE END of a season in which even the best opera performances—"Salome" at the Metropolitan and "The Tales of Hoffmann" at the City Center—were staged in a stuffy fashion, the Lemonade Opera's summer production of Franz Joseph Haydn's "The Man in the Moon" is like a breath of air. In the basement of a Presbyterian church in Greenwich Village, with a stage the size of a special-delivery stamp and two pianos for orchestra, the little company directed by Max Leavitt evokes a magic and an illusion that are rare in the theatre—and almost nonexistent in opera, whose major institutions in this country are largely enslaved by the faded, mannered techniques of Russian and Central European stage direction of the 1920's and the 1930's.

In preparing Haydn's 172-year-old comic opera, based on Carlo Goldoni's *commedia dell' arte*, "Il Mondo della Luna," for its belated American première, a less creative director than Leavitt might have attempted a slavishly musicological restoration. In that event, the production might have pleased a few pedants, but would not have induced many laymen to spend a summer evening in Lemonade Opera's rather unprepossessing Sunday School room.

Instead, Leavitt treats the ingenuous piece with freedom and fancy, mixing the devices of *commedia dell' arte* and period comedy with ballet, farcical horseplay, topical gags and, for good measure, a puppet show (prescribed in the original libretto). His blithe direction does not violate either the

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spirit or the letter of Haydn's intentions (apart from replacing four arias with more interesting ones from other Haydn operas); and he has recaptured for a modern audience the merriment and the sentiment that guests in Prince Esterhazy's Hungarian castle must have found in it in 1777.

As a group of "zanies" move the scenery on and off the stage, and the separated and distraught lovers sing their arias with their faces framed by the puppet-show stage, Leavitt's originality seems inexhaustible, and his taste seems always right. He knows what most operatic *régisseurs* never learn—that an ancient work has to be reanimated, not merely reproduced, if it is to retain its attraction for a new generation.

The opera itself is musically charming, even if it is no "Marriage of Figaro." Though its melodies are agreeably lyric and animated, Haydn took little care to make his music support characterization or the definition of dramatic situations. The libretto is given a new lease on life by John Gutman's gay, fluent English adaptation. It recounts a tale of intrigue and fantasy, in which a fatuous old man is persuaded by a quack astronomer that he has been transported to the moon, where a new perspective enables him to overcome his opposition to his daughter's love for a young poet.

With Herbert Grossman as their capable musical director, the young performers work well and impart an air of probability to the unlikely story. They are not the world's greatest singing actors, but their performances are infused with spirit and vigor, and even in their least persuasive moments they never impede the flow or distort the line of Leavitt's direction.

Lemonade Opera began almost by accident two seasons ago. Impressed by the success of the plays given in the same church basement by Equity Library Theatre, Nancy Kendall, now executive secretary for Leavitt's group, asked him if a similar project could not be started in the field of opera. He thought it could, and so did many hopeful young singers who had been looking for an opportunity in New York's overcrowded musical profession.

In its first summer—1947—Lemonade Opera presented Mozart's "Don Giovanni" and a double bill of Humperdinck's "Hansel and Gretel" and Pergolesi's "La Serva Padrona," at a total production cost of $400. To the undisguised amazement of everyone in the company, the project seized the public fancy from the first, and the participants, on equal shares, made a little money. For twelve weeks, people kept coming to see the operas and drink Lillian Rolland's honorable, home-made lemonade in the alley during the intermissions.

A year ago, Leavitt determined to give the company a more professional status. The singers and pianists were unionized and given a regular salary. The unions, wanting to be helpful, agreed to a special scale that fell within the small budget. It was nip and tuck whether the enterprise could meet these increased costs; but a brilliant novelty, Prokofiev's "The Duenna," given in rotation with the two previous bills, kept the box office healthy. By now, everyone except the members of the company—who know how narrow the margin of financial safety is with a room seating fewer than three hundred customers at a $2.40 top—assumes that Lemonade Opera has become a permanent adornment of New York's summer living. A fund-raising campaign has been started, in the hope of building a theatre and obtaining an adequate subsidy for both summer and winter seasons.

Lemonade Opera provides a pattern that should be copied in other cities. For by their unremitting work, native ability and fertile imagination, Leavitt and his fellow enthusiasts have shown that opera produced on a shoestring can be charged with artistic vitality and wide public appeal.

Note: On July 6, too late for notice in this review, Lemonade Opera gave its second new production of the summer, Kurt Weill's folk opera, "Down in the Valley." CECIL SMITH

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Just an Old-Fashioned Girl

Jane [Wyman] was born in St. Jo, Mo., but has lived in Hollywood since 1929. Married or unmarried she leads a quiet, unmovie-starish life.—*From the Pittsburgh* Post-Gazette.

Dr. Shurly's Vegetable Compound

Dr. Burt R. Shurly, board member, stood firm in his stand in favor of the sale of potato chips to school pupils.

"Kids are charged with energy like bundles of electricity," Dr. Shurly said. "If they do not chew something all the time, like potato chips, they cannot get rid of the sparks. They turn to other things like juvenile delinquency."—*From the Detroit* News.

Heil Britannia!

The extension of the ban on employment of Communists in the large John Lewis combine of London department stores to include Fascists has been rejected. . . . A speaker at a meeting of the stores' executives explained that Fascism was a "relatively English organization. . . ."—*Overseas News Agency dispatch from London.*

Oh, What a Tangled Web . . .

Although of course there is no charge of perjury against Mrs. Roosevelt in the Hiss case, she is co-defendant in a figurative sense because Hiss is a protégé of Felix Frankfurter who has been a power behind the throne ever since the New Deal began.—*From Westbrook Pegler's syndicated column.*

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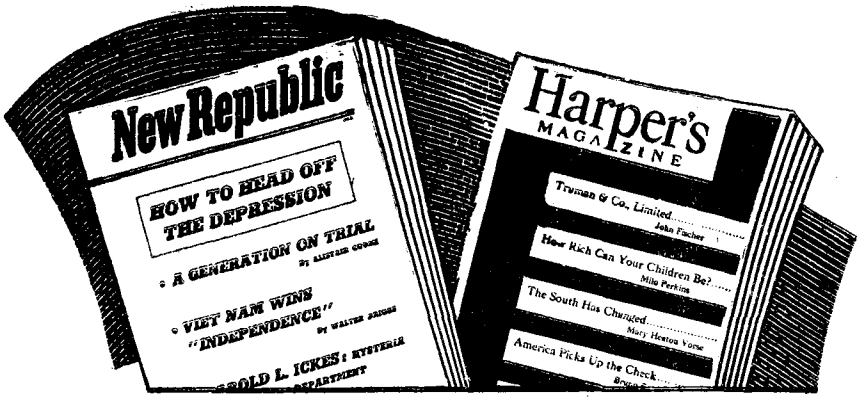
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